[For discussions of agricultural ceremonies, and of associated magical concepts, see 20: Hart, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 280-284 (palio), p. 285 (buhatan), pp. 294-299 (loto), pp. 394-396 (camote-planting lihi), pp. 399-400 (cassava-planting lihi), pp. 304-306 (rice-planting lihi), p. 308 (rice-transplanting lihi), pp. 313-316 (rice-harvesting lihi), pp. 334-337 (corn-planting lihi), pp. 339-340 (protective charms for cornfields), pp. 342-359 (dulot), pp. 359-361 (other practices associated with corn agriculture), pp. 377-385 (guhang lihi), p. 404 (coconut-planting lihi). --Analyst]

The visible aspects of prosperity are much greater in western than in eastern Negros. 311

The distribution of cultivated land among the eight major crops of the southern region is shown in Table XI.[85] 311 241

TABLE XI

Percentage of Land of Each Municipality Devoted to the Major Crops, 1950-51
Southern Corn-Coconut Region

Municipality	Corn	Coco-nuts	Sugar	Rice	Roots (a)	Vege-tables	Beans	Fruits
Pamplona	89	32	19	11	5	*	1	2
Amlan	30	59	*	1	5	*	1	2
Sibulan	55	20	1	*	12	2	3	6
Dumaguete	57	20	1	*	12	2	3	1
Valencia (b)	31	15	0	4	5	4	1	1
Bacong	53	27	*	5	7	4	2	1
Dauin	71	15	0	4	4	1	2	2
Zamboanguita	42	24	*	23	5	2	3	1
SIATON	48	17	0	23	6	1	2	2
Sta. Catalina	39	22	4	17	4	2	2	9
Tanjay (c)	12	33	41	11	1	*	*	1

* Indicates less than 1 per cent.
(a) Roots include camotes, gabi, cassava, and peanuts.
(b) In Valencia 38 per cent of the cultivated land is devoted to abaca.
(c) Tanjay included to illustrate transition from corn-coconut region to sugar cane region.

Dauin is the most extreme example of a municipality within the southern region with 71 per cent of its cultivated land devoted to corn and 86 per cent occupied by either corn or coconuts.

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[85] Wernstedt, op. cit., p. 106.

CHAPTER IV

THE PRACTICE OF AGRICULTURE

The barriofolk of Caticugan are subsistence farmers.[1] Most of their fields are so small that they might be better called gardeners. Yet their relationship with the land is not as intensely intimate as that of the Chinese or Japanese farmer. If the man-land relationship in China, for example, may be roughly characterized as a grim battle with an ever-constant threat of famine, the relationship in Caticugan is a persistent yet more amiable struggle. The careful hand-tillage and the planting of every tiny plot of land, as in most parts of China or Japan, does not occur in Caticugan. The pressure of the people on the land in Caticugan is less severe than in other parts of Asia or the Philippines.

This chapter describes and analyzes the agricultural practices and associated practices of Caticugan barriofolk. If any one chapter in this report highlights the general contours of living in Caticugan it is this. For, in many ways, the agricultural practices of the barriofolk embody the general ethos of their culture.

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[1] Caticugan includes Sitios Naga, Dangpla and Talo-ot; when reference is made to Barrio Caticugan it does not include these three sitios, only the barrio proper as the people call it.

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Their fields are plots once cultivated by their ancestors; it is their meager inheritance of security that they will transfer to their children. The staple--corn--that keeps them alive comes mainly from their land. Their agricultural practices are interwoven with rituals that reflect their concept of the supernatural. For the barriofolk of Caticugan their fields are their life; and most of their lives are spent plowing, harrowing, planting and harvesting their crops.

HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF PHILIPPINE AGRICULTURAL LAND USE

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The history of agricultural land use in the Philippines is that of five major agricultural systems.[2] These systems are: (1) intensive highland irrigated terraces; (2) lowland intensive agriculture; (3) kaingin; (4) plantations; and (5) commercial mechanized agriculture. The evolution of the last two types of agricultural systems in the Philippines is easier to trace that that of the first three types, which developed during prehistoric eras. Preceding these five systems of land use were pre-Neolithic hunting and foodgathering but "their impact upon the environment was minor and temporary."[3]

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[2]The material on the development of agricultural land use patterns in the Philippines is summarized from Spencer, op. cit., pp. 4-12.

[3]Spencer, op. cit., p. 3.

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The rice terraces of northern Luzon, around Sagada or Banaue, are widely known. The importance of these terraces as a system of land use has been over-emphasized; the unique characteristics and almost awe-inspiring engineering techniques of the builders have led many writers to overstress them in relation to the total agricultural situation in the Philippines. These irrigated highland terraces cover only 2 per cent of the landscape of northern Luzon and the standard of living of their cultivators is relatively low for the Philippines. Moreover, rising labor costs almost prohibit extension of these terraces.

The highland terraces were developed more than 2,000 years ago by people from northern Indo-China and south China. Besides the technique of terracing and rice cultivation, these immigrants brought with them knowledge of bronze and gold working, the pig, and millet and other minor crops.

In the central and southern regions of the Philippines two types of land use developed during the late Neolithic period. The moist margins of the lowlands, especially in and above alluvial estuaries, were used to grow rice, taro, nipa palm and other related plants. In association with this truly aquatic lowland agriculture were moist lowlands where in addition to the foregoing crops there were "jungle-like garden plantings" of coconut, banana, breadfruit and other tropical plants. Coupled with this type of agriculture was "extractive

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range stripping" in which the people gathered wild forest products from the jungle land and swamp fringes. These farmers also utilized sea products. Their agricultural techniques utilized a greater range of opportunities than was possible under either caingin or irrigated highland terrace agriculture.

This intensive lowland agriculture was accompanied by the cultivation of land away from the aquatic littoral and its moist margins.

> In earlier periods perhaps no clearly defined boundary between the two types could be distinguished. The lack of direct sea contact and the absence of swamp-margin aquatic culture are obvious. When elevations increase, lowland crops and auxiliary plants drop out one by one, leaving no clear boundaries.[4]

It is probable that "shifting" or caingin agriculture developed side by side with lowland cultivation. Caingin agriculture utilized uplands and mountain slopes; it spread inland from the coasts and upward in the interior highlands with increase of population. More recently in the Visayas the constant raids of the Moros influenced this spread of peoples into the interior. Caingin agriculture still is practiced by a considerable number of both pagan and Christian Filipinos, although it is an illegal method of land use.

The introduction of new domesticated plants, population increases, market-bartering, and international trade all modified both lowland and caingin agriculture;

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[4]Spencer, op. cit., p. 7.

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OA1 Philippines OA1
Central Bisayan OA14

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[4]Spencer, op. cit., p. 7.

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they initiated changes in farming methods and augmented the importance of cash, trade and export crops.

The plantation system introduced by the Spaniards in the latter part of the 19th century stressed coconut, tobacco and sugar cultivation. Under the Americans the plantation system was intensified and abaca and pineapple were added to the crops.

Commercial mechanized agriculture, the fifth system, is basically an American innovation applied to plantations and smaller private holdings both in newly-developed areas and in older cultivated regions. This system, however, is not widely distributed or intensively used due to problems that involve terrain, lack of capital and trained operators. Additional hindrances to mechanization of farms are lack of adequate fuels and the fact that little farm machinery is manufactured in the Philippines. Some Filipinos, however, have speculated on the possible use of local fuels such as coconut oil or alcohol.[5]

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Since the barriofolk of Caticugan are subsistence farmers, they sell very little of their corn and rice. Rice is less important than corn since many of the farmers have no paddies. The dominance of subsistence agriculture characterizes the people living in barrios in the Biaton

[5]Ortigas, op. cit., pp. 44-51.

River valley. Several landlords, residents of the poblacion, have sizeable holdings in Bolog or Common, and part of their share of the corn, rice, or peanuts raised by their tenants is sold for cash. None of these landlords, could in any sense of the word be considered wealthy. The "cash crops" of Caticugan are coconuts, vegetables and guhang, an alcoholic beverage made from the sap of the buri palm. For the majority of the people, guhang is probably the most important of these few "cash crops."

The remainder of this chapter discusses (1) agricultural calendar; (2) caingins; (3) lowland rice and corn agriculture; (4) the manufacture of guhang; (5) minor single crops of Caticugan (coconuts, cassava, camotes, etc.); (6) vegetables and other garden crops (tangkong, tobacco, etc.); (7) farm animals; (carabao, cattle, chickens, etc.); (8) cooperative labor groups; and (9) local agricultural extension activities. Plate XXI shows the land use patterns of Caticugan.[1]

THE AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN

The agricultural calendar of the barriofolk of Caticugan is synchronized with the seasons of southern Negros. Except for a small irrigated area in Barrio Caticugan, the farmers are totally dependent on precipitation of the southwest monsoon. The agricultural calendar should be read with these climatic conditions in mind. (See Chapter II.) The calendar, of course, varies a

1 [See p. 272, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

20: Hart E-5 (1951) 1954 OAI Philippines
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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS[6]

JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH
1 Harvest of second corn and lowland rice (Caticugan) 2 Caingin clearing begins 3 Mature cassava available 4 Month of large abaca sales in Siaton poblacion	1 Second corn crop harvest (Caticugan, Sandolot and Casala-an) 2 Peanuts mature (Apoloy and Dolog) 3 Caingin clearing--some begin to burn debris 4 Caingin rice planted above Dolog 5 Month of large abaca sales in poblacion 6 Ubi roots available 7 Few begin to plow fields for corn planting (Sandolot) 8 Third corn crop planted in Tampaga 9 Harvesting rice (Caticugan)	1 Begin first irrigated corn planting (B. Caticugan) 2 Plowing fields for first corn (Giliga-on) 3 Caingin clearing and burning continues in mountains 4 Ubi available 5 Begin to plant gardens, eggplants, tomatoes, opo, etc. (Caticugan)

[6]Irrigated corn is distinguished from non-irrigated corn in this calendar by stating that the former is irrigated. The calendar is devoted mainly to agricultural activities in Caticugan although some comparative data were gathered when traveling in the Siaton River valley and from informants living in other barrios.

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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

APRIL	MAY	JUNE
1 Continue first irrigated corn planting (B. Caticugan) 2 Plowing fields for first corn crop (Caticugan) with several farmers planting 3 Plowing fields and planting first corn (Datag, Talo-ot, and Canaway) 4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan) 5 Caingins burning 6 Some caingin rice and corn planted	1 Begin harvest of first irrigated corn (B. Caticugan) 2 Continue plowing fields and planting first corn (Caticugan) 3 Planting first corn while some corn 4"-5" high (Datag, Sandolot, Casala-an) 4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan) 5 Caingins burning and some planting rice 6 Some balatong planted. Opo mature 7 Rice beds planted (Canaway) 8 Mango season	1 Continue harvest of first irrigated corn (B. Caticugan) 2 Planting second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan) 3 Planting rice beds (Caticugan) 4 Planting vegetables (Caticugan) 5 Planting bananas (Caticugan) 6 Caingin rice planted 7 Mango season 8 Stringbeans and opo available 9 Migrations to harvest corn in other barrios

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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER
1 Harvesting first irrigated corn and planting second irrigated corn (Caticugan) 2 Harvesting first corn crop (Caticugan) 3 All corn planted (Dangola) 4 All rice beds planted (Caticugan) 5 Transplanting rice in Canaway, Inalad, and Zamboanguita 6 Caingin rice planted 7 Stringbeans available 8 Planting corn and camotes in Bondo 9 Migration for corn harvests in other barrios 10 Cassava planted	1 Harvesting first and second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan) 2 Transplanting rice in Caticugan, Datag, and Talo-ot 3 Plowing paddies for transplanting (Caticugan) 4 Rice beds planted in Dangola 5 Caingin rice planted 6 Migrations to harvest corn in other barrios 7 Harvest of caingin corn (Bokgay) 8 Planting first corn in Dangola	1 Harvesting second irrigated corn (B. Caticugan) 2 Transplanting rice (Caticugan) 3 Harvesting caingin rice 4 Planting camotes (Dangola) 5 Transplanting rice (Dangola) 6 Harvesting peanuts (Caticugan and Dolog) 7 Wild mushroom gathered (Libgos variety)

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AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR OF CATICUGAN AND ENVIRONS (Continued)

OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER
1 Plowing fields for second corn crop in Caticugan, Lamtoc, Sandolot, and Casala-an 2 End of month begin to plant second non-irrigated corn crop in Datag, Sandolot, and Caticugan 3 Planting bananas in Caticugan 4 Harvest of caingin rice 5 Plant second caingin corn	1 Planting second corn in Caticugan 2 Drying balatong beans in Caticugan 3 Digging for lahia roots 4 Bondo rice harvested 5 Planting peanuts in Talo-ot 6 Rice mature in Dangola 7 Camote season begins 8 Rice harvest in Mayabon, Zamboanguita 9 Plowing fields and planting second corn in Bacong and Dauin 10 Small cassava roots available 11 Caingin rice harvest	1 Rice harvest in Caticugan, Dangola, Canaway and Datag 2 Big cassava roots available 3 Beginning of large abaca sales in poblacion 4 Camotes available

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little each year due to seasonal climatic fluctuations but the general pattern remains basically unchanged. 221 241

CAINGIN AGRICULTURE: INTRODUCTION

Four of the five Philippine methods of agricultural land use are practiced in Negros. There are no extensive areas of terraced land, although some terraces are found in Siquijor Island. The three most common agricultural systems in Negros are lowland intensive, plantation and mechanized agriculture--the latter in conjunction with sugar and rice plantations. Caingin agriculture is practiced by both pagan and Christian Filipinos in the piedmont regions of the Central Mountains, the Central Mountain Range, and the Tablas plateau. 241 311

Caingin shifting agriculture has been defined tersely as:

> "...the most primitive type of agriculture...an economy of which the main characteristics are rotation of fields rather than crops; clearing by means of fire; absence of draft animals and of manuring; use of human labor only; employment of the dibble stick or hoe; short periods of soil occupancy alternating with long fallow periods."[7]

Caingin is not always limited to hills and uplands as typical in Formosa, Indochina, Thailand and the Philippines. Frequently, as in Indonesia, this land use technique occurs on level areas. Pelzer states:

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[7]Pelzer, op. cit., p. 17. Pelzer has written an excellent account on caingin agriculture in the Philippines: Chapter 2: "The Shifting Cultivator."

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> Shifting cultivators have no concept of private land ownership. The land belongs to the community, the tribe, or the village, and each member has the right to use as much land as he needs and can cultivate.[8]

The barriofolk of Caticugan are not true shifting cultivators since one must distinguish between shifting cultivation as a "land use" technique and shifting cultivation as a lebensform. Agriculture with long fallow periods for the fields does not make farmers into caingin cultivators in the strictest sense of the word if they do not practice the associated customs. There are tobacco plantations on the east coast of Sumatra which use a long fallow period (seven to eight years) but the cultivators do not practice caingin agriculture. The barriofolk of Caticugan and probably most of the people living in the settlements in the Siaton River valley are not true shifting cultivators. They find that their lowland fields are not sufficient and supplement crops from their "permanent fields" by cultivating upland caingins.

The cultivators of caingins in Caticugan claim ownership of the land they till. True shifting cultivators, as already mentioned, have no concept of private land ownership. The caingins of Caticugan are taxable property and many are listed in the land ownership record books of the municipio. Suitable land for caingins is distant from Caticugan; this makes it difficult for one

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[8] Ibid., p. 18.

household to manage both barrio lowland fields and upland caingins. Several families solved this problem by having their caingins worked by tenants who lived near the fields. Though caingins are considered as private property by most of their cultivators, many customs connected with shifting agriculture appear here.[9] 241 311

Whether caingin agriculture preceded lowland cultivation in Siaton is not definitely known. It seems most likely, however, that the first settlers would utilize the riverine plains of Siaton, travelling to the region along the island's rim or by boat. Siaton's early history and the population distribution patterns supports this belief. The first settlements on eastern Negros mentioned in Spanish sources were located on the lowlands of Bais and Tanjay. (See Chapter III.) Certainly the Moro raids later influenced the settling of the interior mountainous regions of Siaton and the spread of caingin agriculture.

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[9]Since there were no caingins near Caticugan I was not able to observe closely this type of agriculture. A number of visits were made to areas where caingins were located and their cultivators were interviewed. Most of the information was obtained, however, from people who once worked in caingins, from a few Caticugan farmers who had caingins in the hills, and by questioning several caingin farmers in the northern part of the Siaton River valley. The amount of information obtained by actual observation was smaller than in the study of lowland agricultural activities.

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Selection of New Caingins

Not all of the tilled caingins are owned by the cultivators. The northern barrios such as Dolog or Apoloy, are closer to the forested uplands of the Siaton River valley, and new caingins are still cleared by these people. Caingin agriculture is more important in these isolated communities than in those near the poblacion. The few caingins owned by people of Caticugan are cultivated, permitted to lie fallow, and then recultivated by the owners or their tenants. Most of the older people of Caticugan, although they do not practice shifting agriculture, know about the various methods used to select a new caingin and the associated practices.

First, a desirable locality is selected. Then a palio is held. The basic purpose of the palio is to determine if the unseen spirits (encantos) who may inhabit the spot approve of its clearing and tillage. These unseen spirits are believed to live in springs, streams, odd-shaped rocks and certain trees like the dalakit. The spirits do not trouble one unless they are annoyed or unintentionally antagonized. They can then become quite malicious, causing a person to become ill.

There are various kinds of palio but all of them are basically the same. Some cultivators will sink an axe into a large tree in the locality they wish to clear. If the axe is not embedded in the trunk when they return the following day this is accepted as a sign that the spirits disapprove of the proposed caingin. Other

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Filipinos will push a spear of a certain length into the ground. They tell the spirits that the spear is five or six feet long and that they will return the next day to measure it. If the spear is shorter or longer than its original length the area is abandoned. If the spear is the same length this is interpreted as a sign that the spirits are agreeable to the cultivation of the land.

A caingin farmer living in Pinac-an (a sitio of Caticugan) said he always made a clearing twenty feet long on either the west or east side of a proposed caingin where he placed seven stones. If the stones remained in the identical position until he returned the next day then he considered that the spirits living there had no objection to the land's cultivation. He did not know why either the west or east side was selected for this palio--"I just learned it this way from my father-in-law."

Another palio is to take a six-foot bamboo which is split into two pieces. One piece of the bamboo is left at the proposed caingin site. According to one informant the man might say to the spirits:

> I want to caingin this place. I have here two pieces of split bamboo. They are the same length. I shall leave one stick here and take the other stick with me. When I return if I find the stick I left here is still the same length then I shall caingin this place. If the stick I have left is shorter or longer then I shall not work here.

Normally the person keeps his half of the stick on his person, sometimes even sleeping with it. Often two identical pieces of rattan or sig-id vine (Malaisia

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gemdens (Lour.) Planch.) are used in the place of bamboo.[10]

If the palio indicates that the spirits disapprove of a caingin a buhatan, or food offering may be held. The spirits are not beyond having sympathy for humans. The farmer might plead with them, saying, "Take pity on me. I am a very poor man with a large family and this is a good place to make a caingin." The buhatan is particularly popular when the area selected is considered to be especially fertile, well-located and not difficult to clear. The buhatan consists of an offering of a variety of foods with a promise to the spirits that if no sickness comes to those who work the caingin and the harvest is abundant a buhatan will be made each year the caingin is cultivated. Some shifting cultivators substitute the buhatan for the palio but not frequently since the buhatan is more time-consuming for it requires the preparation of many kinds of food.

It might occur to some, as it did to the writer, that it would be easy for a person to make the palio unfavorable so he could later cultivate the spot himself. Such a trick, however, is said never to be done. The reason is that no one knows what the person tells the

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[10] William H. Brown, Useful Plants of the Philippines. Technical Bulletin No. 10. Manila, Department of Agriculture and Commerce, Bureau of Printing, 1941, I, p. 477.

spirits when he makes his palio. Usually he requests that the spirits punish any individual who tries to secretly interfere with the palio. The palio is performed by a man, but not necessarily by a specialist.

Oracion reports similar practices among the Magahats of Tolong in order to determine whether the spirits approve of a new caingin. In the proposed caingin site the Magahats place a pole and put at the top a small vine roll. The roll of vines is said to symbolize a crown and the stick the diwa (unseen spirits).[11] The cultivator returns home and his dreams for the next three days are interpreted as favorable or unfavorable signs. For example, if he dreams of sickness or death this is a bad omen and the caingin area is abandoned. Normally, however, the cultivators dreams are said to be favorable.[12]

Dream interpretation for selection of a caingin site appears to be more important among the Magahats than in Siaton. The writer did not inquire specifically whether dreams were used as omens in the selection of a caingin but the palio would seem to make dreams superfluous. The

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[11] Diwa was the name for idols in pre-Hispanic Philippines. "Others...reverenced most ugly idols made of stone or wood, which they called divatas." Luis de Jesus, Blair and Robertson, op. cit., XXI, p. 203. Caticugan barriofolk use diwata today as a synonym for "superstition" and as the name for a rite connected with the fish corral.

[12] Oracion, op. cit., pp. 46-7.

methods of selecting a new caingin and a new house site are quite similar; this is understandable since the purpose is to determine the wishes of the spirits that inhabit the spot. (See Chapter VIII.)

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Clearing the Caingin

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The clearing to be cultivated is cut during the dry season. First the vines, grasses and small trees are slashed--a process called ganas. The larger trees are then cut with axes or bolos and the biggest trees are cut last. This is to permit the grass and undergrowth to dry before the larger trees are felled. After the larger trees are cut--usually only girdled--the limbs are trimmed so the trunks will lie flat and burn better. This process is called gasan.

After the debris is dry, the clearing is fired. The general period of burning caingins in southern Negros is from February to May, although most of the caingins are fired in April or May. The extent of caingin agriculture in Siaton is difficult accurately to determine. In 1950 the Municipal Agriculture Agent of Siaton estimated there were 296 acres of upland rice planted in the municipality. One can see caingins on both sides of the Siaton River valley. Since few trips were made among the hills beyond the valley the extent of caingin agriculture in this area is not known. During the burning season, however, there were no spectacular night fires or smoke palls over the mountains to the north to indicate widespread caingin firing.

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Some cultivators hold a buhatan before the caingin is fired. A variety of food is placed on a table in the caingin and the spirits are invited to dine. They are then requested to protect the people who work the land from sickness and to bring the cultivators an abundant harvest. According to one informant some cultivators announce:

> If there are any encangtos living here they had better gather their belongings and move. Tomorrow I shall burn the dry bush.

The food offering is eaten by the cultivator (and perhaps a few invited friends) after the short ceremony since the "offering has already been made."[13]

After the first firing of the caingin any brush not consumed is piled and fired again. This is called gaponpon. The caingin is never cleared completely; the land is dotted with charred trunks and partially burned large limbs. As one woman said: "We jump from log to log when we plant our caingin."

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[13]While visiting Barrio Cabangahan during the fiesta I met an old man who described a similar ceremony held when clearing a caingin in this locality. He said a food offering had to be made to the abyans ("friends," in this case meaning encangtos) that live in the rocks and trees. A ritualist is normally used for careless words during the ceremony anger the abyans. The ritualist is paid food for his services. The food offering is made in the caingin at eight in the evening; after the ceremony the offering is usually eaten by the persons involved since the abyans "feed on the flavor or spirit of the food." The informant said such offerings are made before and after each planting in the caingin; when the crops are growing well another offering may be made to the abyans as a thanksgiving.

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The caingin clearing is a man's job. Sometimes the women may be weeding an old caingin nearby. During the clearing and burning the cultivators from the lowland barrios live at their caingins in temporary shelters. Often they go to their caingins on Monday bringing sufficient food to last till Saturday when they return to the barrio.

Caingin Crops

Caingins are planted at the start of the rainy season in April or May and continuing to July. One caingin above Dolog was planted with rice as early as February while other nearby caingins were planted as late as August. Rice and corn are planted in hills with a dibble stick (gahok). A hole is made in the ground with the point of the dibble stick and as much rice as one can hold between the thumb and first or second finger is put in the hills that are separated about the distance of one handspan. Seed corn is planted four or five kernels to a hill and is mainly a woman's job, although the men may help. Several caingins were observed, however, in which the rice had been sowed broadcast. [462] [463]

The two major caingin crops are rice and corn; abaca is probably the most important associated plant. Other minor crops are camotes, ubi (Dioscorea esculenta Linn.); balanghoy (cassava: Manihot utilissima Pohl); bananas and tahores beans (tapilan phaseolus multiflorus Wild). The rice varieties planted are: Capayo (Capayong);

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Tinogbong, Inaslum, St. Nicholas, Tapol, Pilit (a glutinous variety) and Lubang. Rice varieties less commonly planted are: Malagayang (Malagaya), Diamanti; Malagoso, Sumalingsing (said to have a sweet odor), Katohao, Binagakay ("like Capayo only the grain is more slender") and Katong. Tinogbong, Capayo and Malagayang (reported to have medicinal value) are said to mature in 125 days with an average production of eight to twenty-four cavans an acre.

Corn varieties usually planted are Dong-go or Bagsiao. Dong-go is said to take five months to mature and has a "nice odor" while Bagsiao takes six months. Another corn variety called Takoral which takes six months to mature is sometimes planted. Not much Takoral is planted since it is said to be more susceptible to a disease called tohob (yellowing of the leaves). Takoral has softer kernels than Dong-go and Bagsiao which makes it less desirable for storage purposes. The Bisaya corn variety raised in the lowlands is rarely planted in the cainging because it does not grow well there.

One cainging visited was cultivated by a farmer who also tilled a one and one-half acre field in Barrio Catiougan. His permanent residence was a short walk from his cainging. The cainging which he had been cultivating for two years was located on a hillside with a 40-degree slope. A bamboo fence enclosed the field on all sides, except at the bottom of the hill where ran a shallow stream. The field was covered with many small stones and

littered with charred limbs and stumps. He had planted corn and tahores beans and later camotes and cassava. Volunteer igao (Amorphophallus campanulatus Roxb.), an edible root, and a few papayas, were scattered in the field. A rickety platform about two feet above the ground with a cogon grass thatched roof stood in the center of the caingin where the cultivator stayed to watch his crop. This caingin appeared to be fairly typical of those in the Siaton River valley region.

Frequently corn or rice and abaca are grown in association in the caingins. It is possible to grow rice for one year in a caingin also planted with abaca. Corn can be grown for three years if abaca is also planted in the same field. Then the abaca becomes so large that rice and corn cannot be inter-cropped in the same caingin because of shading. Even if abaca is not planted, rice is usually grown for only the first year in the caingins because thereafter "it is too much sacrifice" to pull or cut the weeds" that slowly invade the field. The period for which a caingin is cultivated varies according to the care it receives. Some men report that if a caingin is carefully weeded each year the land may be cultivated for eight to ten years. The cultivation period of the average caingin, however, is from three to five years. By this time weeds and undergrowth, particularly the almost indestructible cogon, are so thick that it is easier to clear a new caingin than to weed the old one. Another reason for abandoning the land is that as soil fertility

decreases the harvests decline. However, these are secondary factors in abandonment of caingins, according to the people. The average caingin is not cultivated long enough to permit the soil to deteriorate to the point where yields are uneconomic. 241 ●

The associated rites of caingin planting are like those used in the lowland rice and corn fields and will be discussed later. One caingin farmer said he never had held a planting ceremony until one year his corn was ruined by dalabdab, a disease that turns the corn leaves variegated colors. He harvested no corn, so the following year he began a planting rite suggested by friends.

Caingin Pests

Wild pigs and monkeys are a serious problem for most caingin farmers. Many caingins are surrounded with [417] sturdy bamboo fences that take considerable time to build to keep out the marauding pigs. Flimsy "watch houses" frequently are built in the caingins; the cultivator or a member of his family then stays to protect the crop from the pigs and monkeys. There are no magical rites to protect a caingin from wild pigs. One informant laughingly replied when questioned about this matter that the "best way to protect your caingin from wild pigs is to use a shot-gun." Unfortunately, few farmers own guns.

Some caingins have a wild pig trap called balatki. 241 224 A small opening is made in the fence surrounding the caingin and a taut vine is stretched across the entrance.

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When the pig tries to pass through the opening into the caingin it trips the vine and releases an attached bamboo spear.

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Caingin Crop Yields (Rice and Corn)

In 1951 the Siaton caingin rice harvest began in September. During October I noticed large quantities of palay drying on mats in the poblacion. This, said the owners, came "from the caingins in the mountains." A considerable number of people from the barrios and the poblacion go to the caingins to assist in the harvest. The following interview with a male informant from Naga tells of these forages to caingins and also of the importance caingins sometimes have in the food gathering activities of the lowland barriofolk.

> When the Japs left we were happy. After they left we went to the mountains to look for food like bananas and camotes. When the hot season comes the owners of the caingins let us clear the caingins of the camotes that remain. They had dug for camotes before but did not get all of them. We had to clean the entire caingin of vines and we got all the camotes we found in doing this. Sometimes we bartered salt for bananas. Sometimes we were given bananas for clearing the caingins. Sometimes caingin owners gave us two gantas [one cavan equals twenty-five gantas] of corn a day for clearing their caingins. Sometimes many people go especially if they hear of a caingin which has plenty of camotes left. Men, women and children go. It does not take long to clean one caingin. We do not go to the mountains during the rainy season.
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> Many people go to harvest upland rice. We did not go because the children could not reach the place--it is very far. [The informant is referring to 1951]. The places are, north of Giliga-on, called Bantolinao, and Omlog and Bokgay. We sometimes dig camotes and cassava. There are owners of caingins who will let the people dig and slice [to dry] cassava. Sometimes we will get one-third

or two-fifths of all we dig and slice. The caingin owners are busy then making a new caingin, this is why they are glad to see us. It is as if we had planted our own cassava. We live there and help make slices. Some of the people bring their own food and others get food from the caingin owners. We live in their houses.

Last year my wife went to Dodong's field in Padang. Mostly women went because it was during the plowing season. It was March. I did not go, just my wife. Our share was four sacks of mixed dried cassava and camotes chips. People in Padang live differently than the people in Naga. In the mountains one can plant many things. Here we just plow in season. In the mountains one can plant red squash, gabi, pesula [a variety of squash] sikwa [commonly called patola: Luffa acutangula Linn.]. There are no big houses in the mountains. They are not permanent because after three years the caingin owners have to look for another place to caingin.

Women and children are usually the ones that go to the mountains to harvest the caingins. I was told by some informants that "men would be olao [ashamed or embarrassed] to harvest rice in someone else's caingin. The people would say they did not know how to make their own caingin." However, some men do go, particularly the unmarried men (olitaos) who are said to "follow the dalagas [unmarried] young women." This is an interesting comment; for a young man courts a girl in the barrio under many handicaps. To be able to work and talk with her, away from the surveillance of the family, would have many advantages.[14]

Rice is cut one stalk at the time with a small knife. Rice heads are put into small baskets strapped to the harvester's side; later they are emptied into larger baskets. Rice is threshed and corn is harvested by the

[14] I never observed a caingin corn or rice harvest,

same methods used in the lowlands. The harvesters normally get one-fourth, sometimes, but rarely, one-third of the rice harvested. 243

A very limited survey, so restricted in nature as to be merely suggestive, was made of seven caingins. The average corn yield per acre of these caingins was five bushels.[15] This figure is for the first corn harvest that usually yields more than the second crop. Three of the seven caingins were damaged by wild pigs and monkeys, suggesting the problem these pests present to the farmers. Dong-go was planted in all the caingins except two which grew Bagsiao. The caingins were located in sitios Kangotot and Nawakat (Casala-an), Casala-an, Dolog, and Bantolinao and Sitio Banat-e (Maloh). 241 311 433

15The conversion was: one cavan of shelled corn equals 58 kilos and 1 kilo equals 2.2 pounds. One bushel of ear corn (not shelled corn) equals 52 pounds. To determine the size of caingin or lowland corn fields the following method, recommended by the provincial agricultural office, was used: "With reference to your letter...regarding rate of planting corn, please be informed that the rate varies according to the number of grains dropped per hill and the distance of planting corn. We noted that if the distance of planting is 80 x 80 cm. dropping 4-5 grains per hill the rate of planting is around 6 gantas per hectare, especially if the grains of corn used are small. By dropping only three grains per hill at a distance of 1 M. x 80 cm., especially if the grains are big, the rate of planting per hectare of corn is only around four gantas. But by dropping three grains per hill at a distance of 1 meter by 1 meter, if the grains are medium size, the rate of planting is only five gantas per hectare. So on the average we use five gantas per hectare as the rate of seeding corn regardless of the size of the grains and the distance of planting and the rate of planting per hill..." Personal communication to writer from Provincial Agricultural Supervisor, February, 1951, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental. [804]

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The harvesters (manalabang) received about 15 per cent of the corn harvested in these seven caingins. Two of the seven fields were harvested without the assistance of the manalabang; it is the custom not to assist in the harvest of a field that is very small or has a poor harvest. The largest caingin was seven and one-half acres while the smallest was almost one acre. Four caingins were tilled by their owners while the others were cultivated by tenants.

Figures were also obtained on five rice caingins located in Casala-an, Sitio Kapakolan (Casala-an), Sitio Tampaga (Apoloy) and Banat-e. All caingins were tilled by the owners, except one that was cultivated by the owner's sister's husband. The average rice yield per acre was five cavans. I obtained the same yield estimate from the Siaton municipal agriculture inspector. The average size of the caingins was three-fifths of an acre. Tinog-bong and Capayo were the two rice varieties planted.[16] The

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[16] Caingin sizes were determined by the method used by the provincial agricultural office in Dumaguete. "If upland rice is planted by the broadcasting method it needs 30-35 gantas of seed palay to plant a hectare. It takes only 25 gantas of seed palay to plant a hectare of upland rice if the method of planting is by the hill method, dropping 5-8 grains of palay per hill of 20-25 centimeters distance each." Personal communication to the writer from the Provincial Agricultural Supervisor, Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, March, 1951. Since little upland rice is planted in the Siaton River valley area by the broadcast method, the hill method was used to determine caingin sizes.

For corn it was necessary to determine the size of the baskets used to carry the harvested corn to the house. Basket sizes in Caticugan varied so the number of gantas the various baskets (bukag) contained was obtained (which was from nine to twelve gantas) and the average basket size determined, e.g. nine gantas. I gathered information

harvesters received 16 per cent of the grain as their share. 241

Caingin harvests require hard work, more so than in the lowland, due to the slope of the fields and the less comfortable working conditions. Yet, according to informants, the harvests are not without their pleasant aspects. The womenfolk visit; old friends renew acquaintances and new friends are met. The young people often have better courting opportunities; some people said they first met their spouses at these harvests. The children play games at the end of the day. Accounts of these harvests in the mountains gives one the impression that they are much gayer affairs than lowland harvests. The end of a caingin rice harvest is usually climaxed by a loto. 574 241

The Rice Harvest Loto

The loto is quite similar to the dulot held for caingin and lowland corn harvests.[17] The purposes of the

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16 (Continued) in this manner for the figures on corn, both upland and lowland. For example, one informant said it took three gantas of seed corn to plant his lowland field from which he obtained a total harvest of twelve baskets. These figures were recorded as one corn field of three-fifths of a hectare (1.48 acres) with a harvest of about 4-1/6 cavans. For rice the farmers could give their harvest figures in gantas of palay.

17 Loto is the root word of the verb "to cook"; magloto the future tense, nagloto is the present tense, and naloto the past tense. Loto with a hard final o means a "food offering made for the rice harvest" but with a soft final o means "mourning clothing" worn by both sexes. Loto or kan-on also means "any food cooked" but is usually understood to mean cooked rice or cornmeal. While the harvest ceremonies for corn and rice are basically the same, loto is normally used to describe the rice ceremonies while dulot is applied to the corn harvest ceremonies.

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loto and the dulot are to offer a thanksgiving for a good harvest (or a better one next year), to honor and placate departed souls and the unseen spirits, and to accomplish magical multiplication of the grain. While there are certain minor differences between the loto and the dulot, the food offerings are almost identical. The dulot most likely is a variation of the rice loto that was transferred to the harvests of caingin and lowland corn after the latter grain was introduced to the Philippines by the Spaniards in the 16th century. Oracion's account of the rice harvest ceremony of the primitive Magahats corresponds closely to the loto and dulot of Siaton.

However, the ceremony for the harvest of lowland rice in Caticugan and neighboring barrios is quite different from either the loto or dulot. Most likely the stronger influence of Catholicism, better educational opportunities, and more frequent contacts with the principalia of the poblacion, are probable factors that have led the lowland barriofolk to modify the paganistic harvest ceremonies of their forefathers. The lowland rice loto in Caticugan has been changed into a basically Christian ceremony while the corn harvest dulot is quite different from the dulot practiced in the northern barrios of the Siaton River valley. A special investigation was made of variations of the dulot that illustrate the processes of change as they are occurring in the Siaton River valley. This material is presented later in this chapter.

The day before the loto the womenfolk prepare pilipig, toasted rice pounded almost flat in the rice mortar.[18] The morning the loto is to be held by the owner of the caingin, his family prepares the food offering. Oracion writes that during the rice harvest ceremonies of the Magahats

> The food for the diwata [unseen spirits] is cooked separately on an open hearth outdoors by the owner himself. It is believed that since this is a thanksgiving offering the owner should show his heartfelt reverence by actually performing all the work.[19]

Whether this is the case for the food offering of the caingin loto in Siaton I do not know. However, the family who holds the ceremony for the dulot has the responsibility of preparing the food offering. Friends, however, often help the host family cook the food to be served to guests after the loto.

In the evening (among the Magahats when there is a full moon) a temporary bamboo table is constructed and put in the center of the harvested caingin. On this table are placed plates of pilipig, seven tigols (home-made cigarettes), seven tinostos (home-made cigars), seven tilads (the ingredients for betel chewing), one roasted chicken, one boiled egg, sometimes shelled, seven bina-ang (a type of rice cake), seven binaluksan

[18] I never witnessed a loto; this is a reconstructed account based on information gathered from various informants in the Siaton River valley and Caticugan.

[19] Oracion, op. cit., p. 59.

(rice wrapped in coconut leaves and then boiled), one plate of cooked rice, and four bamboo containers of tuba made from either the coconut or ediok palms.[20] 241 574 801

Guests normally do not participate in the offering but stand or sit around the edges of the field. Some women may be inside the house preparing food for the meal that follows the ceremony. If the caingin owner feels confident, he may conduct the ceremony himself. Otherwise he will request a man well-versed in the ritual to make his offering. The "speech" given during the brief ritual, however, appears to be an improvisation and not a recitation that requires a nimble memory. Yet many people do not wish to perform the ceremonies for the loto or the dulot because they believe any mistakes might offend the unseen spirits they seek to please. 241 574 241 537

The ceremony is always conducted by a man. No cases were reported of a woman who made the loto or dulot; this is interesting because the magical rites connected with lowland agriculture are normally performed by women. The man goes to the center of the caingin and stands by by the table. Speaking to the spirits and kalags (souls) of the parents or relatives of the caingin cultivator, he invites them to dine on the proffered food. The specialist may repeat his invitation in a whisper or speak loudly. According to one female informant, what is said usually is: 241 537 [791] [462] 241 337 788

[20] The Magahats offer one chicken, seven tilad, seven rice cakes, seven tinostos, two glasses of tuba, and three candles. Oracion, op. cit., p. 59-60.

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> Here is tuba, here is loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol [tigol] eggs and roasted chicken. Here are the things that we offer, the fruit of our labor. We have now fulfilled and we hope that next year the crop will be as good as this year. You that have lived here before don't be surprised at us who live here now. And if we are working here don't be surprised either.[21]

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When the ceremonies are finished the food is taken from the caingin to the owner's house or temporary shelter. Before the offering and the other prepared food are eaten a rosary is said by the women. This is a Catholic addition to the original ceremony.[22]

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Inside the house a large winnowing basket (niggo) is filled with cooked rice. In the center of the heaped rice are stuck many rice heads harvested from the caingin. All the people present eat some of the rice. No rice may be returned to the pots; it is believed if this happens the next harvest will not be abundant. Souls of the caingin cultivator's parents and relatives are invited to partake and are requested to make future harvests plentiful and to give the cultivator and his family good health and long life.

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[21] The original text is: "Niay tuba, niay loto, binaluksan, bina-ang, tilad, tinostos, tinigol, itlog, manok inasal. Niay naman ning among ibulang among abut nakatuman naman in bason podlaman inaron ug maayo gihapon, kamong namoyo dinhi sa una dila lawan ikatingala kaning gapoyo dinhing bagohanay laman. Ug magtrabaho ini dinhi ayaw laman mi ug kiatingola."

[22] It is interesting to note that the Magahat ceremony makes no mention of the souls of the cultivator's parents or relatives. It might be supposed that the addition of the souls to the loto described above is due to Catholic influence. This is probably not the case since the pre-Hispanic Filipinos had well-developed concepts regarding the worship and placating of their dead. Oracion, op. cit., pp. 57-62.

Finally two young boys and a girl are selected from the group and their mouths are stuffed with roasted rice. The person who puts the rice into the boys' mouths repeats: "Pokpok bata" and for the girl "Pokpok baye." Pokpok means "plenty" or "full" while bata and baye mean "boy" and "girl" respectively. The purpose of this ceremony is to ensure a full storehouse of rice for the caingin cultivator after the next year's harvest. Now the guests eat and if there are sufficient young people present, and some who can play guitars, a dance may follow. One woman enthusiastically said that the "loto is the happiest part of the harvest season in the mountains."

It is difficult to assess the importance of the food the barriofolk of Caticugan obtain through bartering with or working for caingin cultivators. Caingin gleaners probably are those whose food supply is ~~very low~~; dried cassava and camote chips are not a popular or widely eaten food in Caticugan. Dried cassava and camote chips often are eaten during the "starvation months," the period following the rice harvest, before the first corn crop is mature. Women who went to Padang during March were mothers and wives searching for food for their families during this period of food shortage. Corn and rice obtained from upland caingins are important supplementary foods for those who make the tiring hike to the mountains to harvest in steep-sloped caingins.

the sap begins to flow or the task abandoned as hopeless. A deep hole may be bored into the "eye" to increase the diminishing flow of sap.

As one travels up the Siaton River valley the buri palms decrease; at Dolog they disappear. The sap of the ediok palm (Cebo Negros: Arenga pinnata Wurmb (Miller)) is used to make a mildly alcoholic drink called habyob. The ediok produces large bunches of dates that hang on slender stalks from the top of the palm. A stalk is selected and then violently shaken and hit with a stick each morning until it flowers. Then the stalk's tip is cut and a bamboo container is attached at the end to collect the sap. The ediok's sap flows about the same length of time as the buri; tan-bark is also added to habyob for the same reason it is put in guhang.

MINOR SINGLE CROPS OF CATICUGAN

Spencer lists twenty-one different cropping combinations for the Philippines. Of these combinations six are chiefly lowland, eight chiefly upland, and seven are combined upland-lowland crop combinations.[59] The intercropping type typical of Caticugan is the "corn and minor crop" combination listed by Spencer under the combined upland-lowland category. The various cropping combinations in Caticugan are: (1) corn-peanuts; (2) corn-camotes; (3) corn-balatong (Cow peas: Vigna sinensis Linn.); (4) corn-balatong-cassava;

[59]Spencer, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

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(5) corn-mungo beans-balatong; and (6) corn-mungos. The important minor crops grown in Siaton municipality in 1951 and their estimated acreage are listed in Table XXI. The names and figures in this table were obtained from the local agricultural inspector of Siaton and include upland and lowland fields.

TABLE XXI

Important Minor Food Crops Grown in Siaton Municipality - 1951

CROP	ACRES
Root Crops	
Camote	166
Peanuts (Spanish White)	37
Cassava	32
Gabi (Colocasia esculentin Linn.)	7
	242 Total acreage
Beans	
Mungo (Yellow)	77
Cadios (Cajanus cajan Linn.)	12
Balatong (Sitao: Phaseolus vulgaris Linn.)	2
Others	12
	113 Total acreage

Intercropping in Caticugan depends upon a number of factors. First, soil types are of importance since camotes and peanuts require a well-drained clay-loam or sandy-loam soil. This is the reason that peanuts are planted only in a few parts of Barrio Caticugan. Camote patches in Naga are located on slopes for proper drainage.

Soil types do not fully explain intercropping in Caticugan. If cassava is planted with corn it is

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impossible to plant a second corn crop. By the time the first corn is harvested the cassava is so tall that the fields cannot be replanted until the cassava roots are dug. This is also true of camotes. Fields cannot grow two crops of corn if intercropped with cassava or camotes.

Intercropping is also discouraged by wandering carabaos and pigs. Less care is given to keeping farm animals, particularly pigs, penned during the period after the first corn harvest and before the second planting. Since many fields near the cluster of residences in Barrio Caticugan are not fenced, farmyard animals may damage immature crops growing in harvested cornfields. One cornfield intercropped with balatong beans was destroyed by stray carabaos. The balatongs were so badly eaten by the carabaos that the farmer plowed under the unharvested plants. A few farmers said they avoid conflicts with their neighbors over such matters by not intercropping their fields.

The Land Use map (Plate XXI, Page 272)[1] shows the clustering of intercropped fields in lower Naga. Soils do not prohibit the same intercropping patterns in upper Naga. The hills southwest of the Mantuyop River are wooded and thinly inhabited. At night wild pigs often cross the shallow river and push through the fences to forage in the fields. Because of the wild pigs' fondness for root crops, they are not intercropped with the corn. The Residence map (Plate XVIII, Page 131)[2] shows that few families live in this locality which makes it difficult for them to watch

1 [See cat. 311 or 116 -- Analyst]
2 [this plate is missing -- Analyst]

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their growing crops. Intercropping in Naga is concentrated in fields that are removed from the southwestern hills and where the residences are more abundant, making it easier for the people to guard their crops. Intercropping patterns in Naga reflect both geographical and cultural factors.

Intercropping depends upon another factor which is less tangible than soils, lack of seeds, maturity schedules, residence patterns, and wild animals. Perhaps the best explanation is the persistence of routine. When farmers were asked why more of them did not intercrop their corn fields they replied: "We are not used to it." Those who never have intercropped show little desire to do so, although the food supply of many families could be increased thereby.

In Dangola the soil is a coarse granular sandy loam which does not retain water. Consequently the people plant an early maturing rice. The Dangola paddies thus differ from those of Barrio Caticugan which accommodate a rice variety that is harvested in January. The well-drained, friable soil in Dangola is suitable for the production of camotes. There are also fewer residences in Dangola and less danger of the crop being destroyed by farmyard animals, and in no other part of Caticugan are sizeable fields devoted solely to camotes.

Camotes

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The farmers offer three major reasons why so few camotes (amotes) are planted in Barrio Caticugan. First, to intercrop camotes with the first corn would make it impossible to plant a second crop. Second, between the harvest of the first and the planting of the second corn crops the barriofolk permit their pigs to roam the locality. The most desirable land for camotes, from an edaphic (soil) viewpoint, is unfenced cornfields near the residences. Third, since there are only a few camote fields in the community, cuttings are sometimes difficult to secure; one must go to other barrios or even to mountain caingins to obtain plants. The barriofolk often barter one-half a ganta of salt for as many camote cuttings as they can carry home.

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Fields to be planted with camote cuttings are usually plowed twice; the final furrows are made in a grid pattern. After the heavy rains begin these furrows are replowed to increase their depth. Men, women and children plant cuttings in these furrows; there does not appear to be any division of this labor by sex.

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Lihis for camote planting are normally done by the person inserting the cuttings in the field; no specialist is needed. Some barriofolk take three shells of the first hatching of a hen (turtle egg shells are better but more difficult to secure), a little sugar and lime (made from snail or sea shells), pieces from the winnowing basket, stone chips from the sog-ang (the three stones used

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to support pots while cooking) and scrapings from the da-ug (bamboo ridge pole of the house roof). These ingredients are mixed, wrapped in a banana leaf, and put in the first three camote hills.

The purposes embody the imitative magic themes of agricultural practices in Caticugan. The chicken (or turtle) shells are so the camotes will be "soft like eggs when eaten," the sugar to give them a sweet taste, the lime to make them white, and the winnowing basket splinters to protect the camotes from bokbok weevils. Stone chips are included to ensure a harvest of many camotes growing compactly (like the sog-ang stones), not scattered and hard to dig. The scraping from the da-ug pole is so the camotes will be overlapping like the da-ug on the roof."

Some farmers add salt to protect the plants from insects; others advise the use of boiled eggs (chicken or turtle) instead of the shells. If three eggs are unavailable, it is permissible to divide one egg into three parts. This lihi is said to be less effective in a kalaanan field than in a kabagohan field--an interesting example of reality testing.[60]

Another less widely practiced lihi for planting camotes uses a stone or piece of wood that the planter has

[60] A kabagohan field, either in the uplands or lowlands, is land that is planted for the first time. If a caingin is abandoned and years later recultivated it is considered a kalaanan field. Lowland fields that have been planted for many years are also called kalaanan. Kabagohan may be derived from bag-o ("new") and kalaanan from the word daan ("old").

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stumbled over while walking or plowing. This object is divided and planted in three hills that form a triangle in the middle of the field. This lihi must be done in the afternoon when stars are visible and the three hills are planted with the elbows, not the hands. The pieces of wood or stone supposedly ensure that the camotes will be as large as the object stumbled over; planting when the stars are visible "will make the camotes as plentiful as the stars in the sky." Inserting the cuttings with the elbows makes the camotes "large as one's elbows."

The custom in Caticugan is to top the camote plants for greens before the tubers are mature. Studies made at Los Baños show that topping camotes "reduces the yield of the roots so much that the combined income from roots and vines would be less than that from roots alone in the untopped plants." The account adds, however, that "topping...offers a way of getting immediate returns."[61] In Caticugan, the results of this research are unknown but the findings would probably have little effect on the topping of camote plants because "immediate returns" count most with the barriofolk.

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Camotes take from four to five months to mature and become fairly plentiful in the barrio and marketplace by November and December. When boiled the camotes have a

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[61] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 446.

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greyish color and are usually very fibrous. Boiled camotes stuck on small bamboo sticks are often sold in Siaton's marketplace and small stores.

Cassava

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The so-called native cassava (balanghoy) was brought to the Philippines from Mexico during the early days of the Spanish regime. Varieties of cassava with commercial possibilities were not introduced into the Philippines until the American period. In some localities, like the Sulu archipelago, cassava is the staple food; in Siaton, however it is merely a supplementary seasonal food. The plant is cultivated by Filipinos for the tubers which store from 15 to 40 per cent starch. [146]

Only 32 acres of cassava were planted in Siaton municipality in 1951; very little was grown in Caticugan. [311] While three types of cassava are known and planted in the area--Visaya, Java and Australia--most of the cassava in Caticugan is Visaya. The Visaya variety grown in Caticugan may be Mandioca Sao Pedro Preto. The barriofolk report that Visaya cassava tastes better than the Java variety and contains more starch. [262] Australia cassava is reported to be grown mainly in Nasi-id and Bantolinao, sitios of Caticugan. Visaya cassava takes from ten to twelve months to mature, although the barriofolk of Caticugan dig immature roots after six months.

Two small patches planted solely to cassava in Caticugan were both in Naga. These patches were too

to show on the Land Use map. Otherwise cassava was intercropped with corn or corn and balatong. Farmers reported that cassava grew best on well-drained sloping fields with sandy soil. If the fields are not well-drained the roots are small and many of them rot. Since cassava normally is dug during December and January, the start of the dry season, it would be difficult to dig the tubers in clayey soil.

The barriofolk said when cassava was planted alone 24| the field was plowed twice before the rains, replowed after the rains and lastly furrows were made. The fields were well plowed so the soil was soft and the roots could expand; this also makes it less difficult to dig the roots. Cornfields intercropped with cassava are not prepared in a special way. Since little cassava [438] is raised in Caticugan it is often difficult to get cuttings. Farmers may go to the owners of caingins in the mountains to obtain cassava plants, bartering for them like camote cuttings. The large cassava stalks are cut with a bolo into pieces four or five inches long.

Cassava was said usually to be planted as early as April or May but in 1951 most of the cuttings were planted in early July. The cuttings are planted in hills spaced about the same distance apart as corn. Usually four or five cassava cuttings are put in each hill. Some planters cover the cuttings completely while others cover only the lower portion of the stalks. If the entire cutting is covered no precautions are necessary in planting.

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If the cassava cuttings are only partially covered it is believed they must be planted in a special way. The "head" is the top of the cutting, determined by the upward slant of the trimmed branches of the stalk. "Heads" must be planted so they are above the ground while the "feet" are covered with soil. If the process is reversed supposedly one becomes "very dizzy" from eating the mature cassava tubers.

The cassava-planting lihi is similar to the one described for camote cuttings. Cassava should be planted during a full moon and low tide, although some said it was not absolutely necessary to wait for a full moon. When the tide is low the beach is littered with stones and shells covered at high tide. Planting at low tide ensures that the cassava roots will be as plentiful as the rocks and shells on the beach; also that the tubers will be near the surface. One farmer said cassava planted during high tide would be poisonous when mature.

Ingredients for the cassava lihi are sugar (to make the roots sweet), lime (to make the root starchy and white), da-ag scrapings (so the roots will be plentiful), chicken egg shells (so the roots will be starchy), piece of banana stalk or banana (so the roots will be as abundant as bananas in a bunch), and some pieces of the rattan used to tie house floor slats (so the roots will be as numerous as the slats in a floor).

Some barriofolk may not include all these items but sugar and lime are always used. Others wrap the lihi items

in paper and state that the exact number of hills planted during the lihi is unimportant. The cassava lihi may be done in any part of the field as long as it is practiced for the first planting. 241

If these agricultural lihis for the crops do not succeed, if the crops are infested with pests and the harvests poor, the farmers believe their tribulations are due to "the will of God" (pagbu-ot sa Dios). Failure of the lihi is not attributed to ineffectiveness of the practice, by the majority of the people. This concept of God's will is a major theme of community life in Caticugan. It is the belief that man does not fail God so much as God fails man and that man, helpless in such situations, resigns humbly and quietly to his fate. This concept of man's relation to God is the basis for much of the conservatism of the barriofolk. 241 777

Once the cassava is planted the plants receive little care. There is no weeding of cassava patches, although cassava intercropped with corn is plowed for weeds. Rats, said to be the major cassava pest, destroy the larger tubers. When the first cassava tuber is dug, a simple lihi is often practiced. The tuber is boiled with some sugar to render all roots subsequently dug from the field "sweet and nice tasting." Often cassava roots are dug before they are fully mature, especially if the family needs food; with the end of the barrio fiesta in February, cassava tubers disappear except for those which were sliced, dried and stored. 241 [262]

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Peanuts

In 1951 only 37 acres of peanuts were planted in Siaton municipality; the most common variety was "Spanish White." In Caticugan peanuts were always intercropped with corn; the peanut-corn combination does not prevent a second corn crop since peanuts mature in 105-125 days. Peanuts are grown in the other barrios in the Siaton River valley, especially sitios Dolog and Comon (Apoloy). Usually peanuts are planted after the corn is about an inch above the ground lest the vines retard the corn's growth. There is no special lihi for peanuts; the people say that those held for the corn suffice.

Balatong

Balatong or cowpeas are usually intercropped with corn or corn-cassava combinations. Cowpeas require a clayey loam and, in Caticugan, were usually planted in this soil type. The barriofolk plant the Brownish-Red balatong variety that is one of the highest yielders; the two important varieties grown in the Philippines, however, are White Paayap (or Kibal) and New Era.[62] The balatong pods [252] are cooked as a green vegetable; the mature dried beans are prepared in the same way as mungos.

Cowpeas are usually planted at the same time as corn and mature in three to six months according to whether they are planted in the wet or dry season.

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[62] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 590.

Balatongs are usually planted in every other cornhill, three to five seeds per hill. Some plant the beans in furrows between the hills because they say the fast-growing vines retard the growth of corn. In some cases the balatong spread so rapidly that the corn cannot be plowed for weeds. There are no special lihis for planting or harvesting balatongs. 241

In Caticugan balatongs are usually planted in May or June, the wet season, and harvested from October to December. The mature pods are put on buri mats in the sun to dry. The pods must be covered with cloth so the beans will not be dispersed when the pods shatter upon heating. When thoroughly dried, the remainder of the pods are shelled by hand and the beans stored. 241 251

Mungos

Four varieties of mungos are raised in the Philippines, differentiated according to the color of the bean.[63] The Dull Yellow type is raised in Caticugan. Very few mungos, however, are planted in Caticugan; in 1951, 77 acres of mungos were planted in Siaton municipality--an excessively high estimate of the local agricultural inspector. I have been in most of the larger cultivated areas of the municipality and rarely saw more than a few small patches of mungos. One reason for their scarcity is cost of seed. In the stores of Siaton poblacion, mungos were more costly than rice. 241 [311] [435]

[63] Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, pp. 364-5.

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Some farmers intercropped mungos with corn while others planted mungos two or three weeks after the corn. Mungos are usually planted between the cornhills since they do not spread as do cowpeas. Mungos begin to mature in about three months. There are no special lihis for mungos.

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Coconuts

In 1951 there were 66,526 coconut palms (about 1,051 acres) in Siaton municipality.[64] Although there are a few palms in Talo-ot, most of the coconut trees are located along the western bluff overlooking Barrio Caticugan, the main canal and barrio path. One grove along the barrio path was recently planted and the trees are not yet bearing. The largest grove (about 410 trees) is owned by the most affluent resident of the community.[65] The majority of the owners of coconuts have only a few trees, and many families possess no coconut palms.

According to the barriofolk coconuts selected for planting must: (1) be mature; (2) contain internal fluid that one can hear by shaking the nut; (3) have no cracks in the outer husk. Nuts are usually placed in a damp spot until the sharp green shoot pierces the outer husk; a favorite spot is under the dwelling near the water jar where waste water is thrown.

[64]The provincial agricultural office, Dumaguete, states there are 156 coconuts planted to a hectare, or about 63 palms an acre.

[65]This figure was obtained from the municipal land records; the owner's plot of coconuts, 6.5 acres, was valued at $567.

[435]

when a cacao bush is passed or brushed by a menstruating woman, the fruit may rot or the flowers fall if it is not protected with these rags. 841.

Jackfruit

A number of jackfruit trees (So-oy: Artocarpus odoratissima Blum) grow in Caticugan. The jackfruit was brought to the Philippines from India (here known as Yaca) during the Spanish period.[70] The fruit is eaten raw or boiled as a vegetable. Sometimes jackfruits are wrapped with an old mat or paper, as are squashes, to protect them from the insects; the most serious of jackfruit's pest appears to be ants. 245 262

Pineapples and Papayas

Several small patches of native pineapple, penia, (Ananas comusos Linn.) occur in Barrio Caticugan. The plants, however, were usually given little care; the fruits were small and wormy. Some barriofolk in Caticugan had a few papaya trees (Kapaya: Carica papaya Linn.); they said that more papayas were not grown because of excessive flooding during the rainy season. This explanation, however, was largely rationalization because in many localities papayas could have been grown without risk of flooding at any time of the year. Green papayas were sometimes grated as a "salad" or fed to pigs. 241 824 245 824 262

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[70] Antonio de Morga, Blair and Robertson, op. cit. XVI, p. 88.

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A bamboo pole against the tree enables the chickens to climb into the branches, although most of them can fly. The chickens are rarely fed by their owners and are lean and tough when eaten. Nests are usually found in the silong (space under the raised house), among the rafters, or in a corner of a room. Plate XXXI[1] shows one type of nest used in Caticugan. A large bamboo is split and the splints woven apart with rattan; dried grass is often put inside. There is a constant battle to shoo the chickens from a house, since they try to sneak into the kitchen to eat uncovered food.

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The barriofolk eat few eggs, not that they dislike eggs, but eggs bring a good price in the poblacion--five cents each in 1951. Sale of a dozen eggs enabled the vendor to purchase several gantas of cornmeal that go farther in feeding the family. Eggs not sold are normally used for settings. In the poblacion chickens sell for fifty to seventy-five cents and scores of chickens are sold each week in Dumaguete.

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The Bolhon and Palihog: Cooperative Labor Groups

The growing individualism in Caticugan life, already cited, includes agriculture. I shall describe some of the cooperative agricultural practices of the past and indicate reasons for their decline in present-day Caticugan.

During Lucas Ege's period there were two types of cooperative labor groups in Caticugan, the bolhon and

1 [See p. 432, cat. 231 -- Analyst]

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palihog. A bolhon was a group of people, usually working adjacent fields, who cooperated in various agricultural tasks--planting, plowing, harvesting, etc. Both relatives and neighbors were included in a bolhon. The group spent only a certain period, usually one day, helping each member plant or harvest his field. If a field were large, the following day the group began a new field, even though the large field was not finished. This made for an equal distribution of labor. A member with a large field could not require the group to finish his field if the allotted period was insufficient. If he wished, he could hire members to work until the job was done. Then a day's pay for farm work was about thirty cents or its equivalent in rice; the amount of rice depended on the current price in the poblacion Chinese stores.

Each member of a bolhon fed the other workers when they labored in his field. The food was furnished and prepared by the farmer's family. While some got drunk on tuba, the bolhon was not a festive affair. "The workers were too tired and dirty to sing and dance at night after work" explained an informant who had worked in Lucas Ege's bolhons.

Normally only Lucas Ege's tenants participated in the bolhon. Other residents of Caticugan had smaller fields--and maybe were members of an "out-group"--so they could do their work without assistance. Bolhon groups of the past were never large because normally members were only those whose fields were adjacent.

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In contrast to the bolhon, which was generally organized for cooperative agricultural labor, is the palihog. The palihog is assistance of neighbors or friends in doing a job which one cannot do alone. The workers are fed by the individual who requested their assistance. Palihogs are most frequently held for the construction or repair of residences. While the bolhon has disappeared the palihog is still practiced. Two palihogs occurred in Caticugan during my residence. Both palihogs were held for the repair or construction of dwellings.

One palihog was formed to replace rotten house posts. This is quite a task; men pull the house with ropes to a more erect position. The other palihog was to help the owner place the posts in the holes for a new house. The palihog is said to be held sometimes when a man is late in plowing or planting and wants to accomplish the task speedily; while several fields were planted late in 1951, because the cultivators were sick, no palihog occurred. Immediately after the last war, according to the barriofolk, due to the carabao shortage, there was a resurgence of the palihog. However, once the shortage was alleviated the palihogs rapidly decreased.

One palihog was held in Barrio Caticugan by a family who had dug the post holes for their new house. They needed help to get the long timbers into the holes. There were about ten men in the palihog besides the

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members of the family. Two men with the assistance of the man and his son could have done the job. The meal was prepared by the husband while his wife scoured the barrio for items for the post hole ceremony. (See Chapter VIII.) The palihog started around noon and lasted about two hours, although the job took less than an hour; after finishing the men ate and talked. Later several of their wives and children arrived to eat lunch.

In part, the decline of the bolhon and palihog is due to the fact that Caticugan's population has increased relatively to cultivated land. Many fields have been subdivided among heirs; thus the fields became smaller and there was less need for cooperative activities. [178]

Post-war inflation discourages the bolhon and palihog. As a young man said: "The palihog costs too much today. It is cheaper to hire people and pay them wages." The rise in wages has been less than the increase in food costs. One can hire a farm worker in Caticugan today for fifty cents and two meals a day; several decades ago the wage for a day's work was about thirty cents. Prices of corn, rice, pig and cattle have more than tripled.

There are some cooperative activities that tradition perpetuates although hired labor could accomplish the job more cheaply. Prestige and social standing may be gained from holding these activities; this factor was not entirely absent in the motivation for the palihog just described. (See Chapter VII.) Most of the barriofolk of Caticugan, however, consider the cost first in getting help in their fields or to repair or construct dwellings. [554]

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$2.50 fee connected with such title transfers; this discourages many heirs from making the title changes. Land records in the municipio are usually changed only when the land is sold and the title legally transferred.

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The constant subdivision of land in the Philippines among heirs has been condemned as one reason for the small size of farms. The Hardie report recommends that the "inheritance law respecting succession to agricultural properties should be modified" in order to prevent "fragmentation of farm units through succession."[13] This recommendation would be more appealing if the report had suggested means for achieving such a drastic innovation. If a field is too small to be economically divided among the heirs, Caticugan barriofolk have a number of solutions. First, the land may be sold to another person and the receipts divided equally among all heirs. Second, one heir may purchase the land and the money divided equally among the remaining heirs. Third, fields may be rotated among the heirs. For example, four brothers in Naga inherited a small field from their father. Instead of dividing or selling the field one brother tills the land each year and receives all the harvest. The next year another brother farms the land and so forth until each has had his turn.

In Barrio Caticugan there were individual paddies that were owned by as many as ten heirs. In Naga eight

[13] Hardie, op. cit., p. x. Vide Pelzer, op. cit., p. 11.

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siblings owned one cornfield while seven owned still another field. It is for such reasons that the municipio land records do not accurately reflect the actual division of agricultural land in Caticugan. Usually such fields are listed under the names of parents or grandparents of the cultivators. Sometimes the land record merely states "Juan Cruz and heirs"; such fields are normally farmed under the arrangement described in the section on temporary division of fields. (See Pages 467-472.)

Fields are rotated sometimes while the actual owner is alive. In Barrio Caticugan a nephew was farming a small field owned by his childless aunt; he had agreed to work the field one year and the following year it would revert to his aunt. At the end of each harvest, however, the nephew made various excuses for breaking the agreement--"I shall work the field next year because this year's harvest was poor." His aunt never filed a formal complaint in Siaton municipio "because it is a small field and I do not want any trouble."

Movable Property

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Animals may be rotated among the heirs like the fields. If there are three heirs and only one carabao, the animal may be sold to a stranger or to one of the heirs, and proceeds divided equally among all of them. An heir may keep a male carabao for one year, then pass the animal along to the other heirs; the carabao is

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in handicrafts, an attitude usually transmitted by craftsmen to their children, have largely disappeared. Often inferior articles made in the United States are preferred to Philippine-made articles, even when the latter are of better materials and more careful workmanship. The most promising long-range program needed to raise barrio living standards is to increase the productivity of their major activity--more and better farmed land with more abundant harvests.